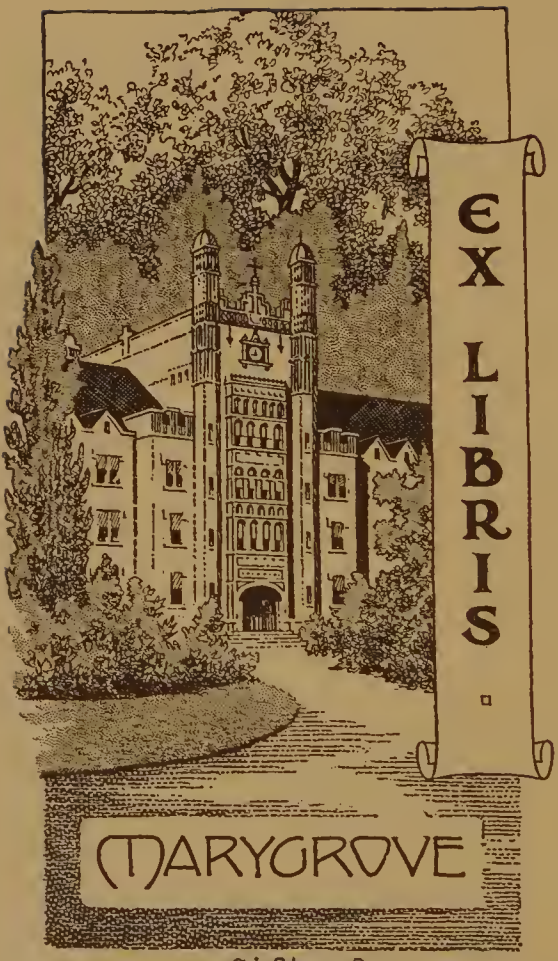

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CARDINAL POLE
AND HIS EARLY FRIENDS

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AND HIS EARLY FRIENDS

BY

CARDINAL GASQUET

LONDON
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1927

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FOREWORD

In examining the collection of MSS., etc., known as the *Rossiana*, which has lately been added to the Vatican Library, the Librarian, Mgr. Giovanni Marcati, called my attention to a small volume of MS. letters, which attracted his notice by seeing the name of Reginald Pole and other English humanist scholars of the sixteenth century. The writer of the letters in question was a certain Professor of the University of Padua named Nicolao Leonicus Tomeo, or as he usually called himself, N. Leonicus. He was a Greek Professor, and was chosen in 1521 to act as the tutor of Pole at the University of Padua. He had previously been the fellow student and friend of many of the Englishmen who had come to study in the schools of Italy. Most of these letters are written in Latin, but one or two are in Greek. A large number are written by Leonicus himself, and the rest

are his transcripts of letters he received from his English friends. They contain much information, perhaps not of first-rate historical importance, but of sufficient interest to make it worth while to rescue them from the oblivion in which they have been so long hidden. The small volume is now known as *Cod. Vat. Ross.* 997, and the letters range from 1521 to 1531. A large number are either from Pole or to him, but there are many to such well-known English scholars as Pace, Tunstall, Lupset, William Latimer, Starkey, More and Linacre. I have arranged these letters, and have given a free translation of them, as it did not appear worth while to print them in the original rather stilted Latin.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	Introduction	1
II.	The Writer of the Letters	7
III.	Padua University	13
IV.	Reginald Pole	17
V.	Peter Bembo	21
VI.	Christopher Longolius	28
VII.	William Latimer	33
VIII.	Richard Pace	37
IX.	War in Northern Italy	40
X.	Cuthbert Tunstall	46
XI.	Thomas Lupset and Thomas Linacre	50
XII.	Letters from Leonicus to English Scholars	54
XIII.	The French Invasion	74
XIV.	Pole in England	92
XV.	Troubles through War and Pestilence	97
XVI.	The Last Letter to Pole	110

I. INTRODUCTION

THE story of the revival of letters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can hardly fail to interest students. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, followed as it was, after seven years of hopeless struggle, by the loss of the principalities of the Peloponnesus—the last remnant of the once powerful Christian Empire of the East—may be said to have had one good result. The exiled scholars of the Eastern world, with such precious manuscripts as they had been able to save from the ruins, found a home in the West, and thus became the means of reawakening an interest in the intellectual civilization of Greece among the Latin races of Europe.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the gradual decadence of the Imperial power on the Bosphorus compelled the Greek Emperors to look to Western Christendom for

help to stay the Turkish advance. Three Greek Emperors in succession journeyed to the West to try to obtain assistance to save Constantinople and ward off the menace of the Turk. It is in these pilgrimages that the historian Gibbon sees the providential influence which brought about the movement known as 'the renaissance of letters.' 'The travels of the three Emperors,' he writes, 'were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps spiritual salvation, but they were productive of a beneficial consequence, the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the nations of the West and North.'

The second of these pilgrim Emperors, Manuel, the son and successor of Palæologus, crossed the Alps, and after a stay at Paris came over to England. He landed at Dover in December 1400 and, with a large retinue of Greeks, was entertained by the Prior and Community of the Benedictine Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. It is hardly perhaps a mere conjecture to say that this visit is considered as having a direct influence on the revival of letters in England, since we find

evidence of the first renaissance of Greek studies in the country at Canterbury and precisely in the Monastery of Christ Church. In 1400, Manuel Chrysoloras, that great prodigy of learning and master of Greek, found a welcome in England, and from that year may be dated the beginning of systematic studies of the Greek classics in England. A number of young Englishmen shortly afterwards found their way to Italy to study at Ferrara under the celebrated Guarino Guarini, a pupil of Chrysologus.

Among the fugitive Greek scholars from Constantinople when it was taken by the Turks were men of great eminence like Chalcocondylas, Andronicus, Constantine and John Lascaris, who at once made the schools of Italy famous by their teaching. In 1464 two monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, William Sellyng and William Hadley, were sent by their Prior to study at the Italian Universities under the most celebrated masters at Padua, Bologna, and Rome. From the antiquary Leland we learn that at Bologna, Sellyng was the pupil of the great Politian, 'with whom, on account of

his aptitude in acquiring the classical elegance of ancient tongues, he formed a familiar and lasting friendship.' Here, in this school of learning, Sellyng remained during the years 1466-67, taking his degree in theology at that University. Of this fruitful period in his life Leland says: 'His studies progressed, he imbued himself with Greek. Everywhere he industriously and at great expense collected many Greek books; nor was his care less in procuring old Latin MSS., which shortly after he took with him as the most estimable treasures on his return to Canterbury.'

In this monastery of Christ Church at Canterbury he established a school for teaching Greek on scientific methods, and thus Canterbury became the centre from which the study of the classics spread to other parts of England. In 1472, Sellyng was chosen Prior of his monastery, and his long rule, which lasted till his death in 1495, enabled him to consolidate the work of the literary renaissance of the fifteenth century in England, which he had always much at heart. Amongst his most celebrated pupils must be reckoned Linacre,

subsequently the founder of the English College of Physicians, and one of the most eminent humanists of his time. Linacre was a native of Canterbury, and he was prepared for his future studies by Prior Sellyng at the Monastic School of Christ Church. In 1480, Sellyng sent Linacre to Oxford, where, by special favour, he probably lived with the monks, studying at Canterbury College, till in 1488 he became a Fellow of 'All Souls.' Before that, however, when, in 1486, Prior Sellyng was appointed as one of the Ambassadors of King Henry VII. to the Pope, he persuaded his old pupil to accompany him to Italy. At Florence, Sellyng introduced Linacre to his former master, Angelo Politian, who was then acting as tutor to the two sons of Lorenzo de' Medici, and obtained for him the privilege of sharing the lessons of the two Medici youths. The younger of these, when he subsequently became Pope Leo X., was not unmindful of his former friendship with the young Englishman who had been the companion of his studies at Florence. At the same time, Linacre shared also the Greek teaching of Demetrius Chalcocondylas.

Passing on to Rome, whilst at the English Hospice in that city he formed a warm friendship with Hermalaus Barbarus, perhaps the most renowned of the humanist scholars in Italy. It is said that this eminent scholar found the young Englishman engaged at the Vatican Library deep in the study of a Greek Codex of Plato. Later on, Linacre persuaded a great friend of his, William Grocyn, to come out to share his studies in Italy, and subsequently Grocyn returned to Oxford and became lecturer at Exeter College. In this capacity he was the tutor of More and Erasmus.

These few lines will be sufficient to introduce a new source of knowledge of some English students in the University of Padua in the first half of the sixteenth century. This new information is to be found in a small volume of *Litteræ Familiares*, written by a professor of that University to some of his pupils between the years 1521 and 1531. They should be of special interest to Englishmen, since the majority are addressed to men of that nationality.

II. THE WRITER OF THE LETTERS

Nicolao Leonico Tomeo, or as he generally calls himself, N. Leonicus, a professor of Philosophy and Greek in the University of Padua, was born at Venice in 1456. His family was originally from Albania, and he was in early life sent to Florence to study Greek, in which language he made exceptional progress. If a passage included in this volume of letters may be regarded as autobiographical, he made his ecclesiastical studies at Monte Cassino. He thus writes about himself in this passage:

'Whilst by order of my superiors I was at the Monastery of Cassino, near the Eternal Hills, when I was free by the Rule from my ecclesiastical studies and the Divine Office, I devoted myself with my whole soul to deep meditation. It happened on one occasion during the night, whilst I was awake in my cell, that I was turning over in my mind what

I had read the previous day regarding the Fallen Angels. This question presented to me many very difficult problems, and, to tell the truth, some which seemed to me to be absolutely insoluble. All of a sudden, I know not how, a bright and extraordinary light seemed to illuminate my cell. Whilst I stood in wonder and fear regarding this phenomenon, behold in the doorway of my cell there appeared a vision of a maiden, beautiful to look at, clad all in white, and with her head and breasts ornamented with precious jewels. Seeing me overcome with fear—for my whole body was trembling—the apparition exclaimed: "Be of good heart, Benedict, for I am sent to you by the Father of Lights to make clear to you what you now are doubting, so that you may no longer worry about your difficulties and no longer allow your mind to be tossed about by contradictory thoughts and thus to become a prey to the waves, like a ship without a helm." Thereupon, taking courage I asked: "And who art thou, Lady, who divining my thoughts and reading my inmost mind and heart, have come to afford me this help?" To which question she replied: "I

am Truth, sent from the Throne of Truth to help you. Why do you turn over in your mind difficulties about the Fallen Angels (for at present you occupy yourself with such questions)? The fact is known by Holy Scripture. I will explain all to you if you will attend to me, and if anything is hard to follow, I will try and make all plain to you on the authority of Holy Scripture."

'Whilst this was passing and I was thinking of how best to state my difficulties, suddenly the bell, which is wont to summon the monks to Matins and Lauds, rang out loudly. At this, the apparition said: "See, Benedict, you are called away to other duties. Go, and if you want to hear me further, I shall come again to-morrow and be ready for you." Then in a moment she disappeared like the passing of a gentle wind, the flight of a bird, or the ending of a dream.'

It would serve no useful purpose to translate in its entirety the account which Leonicus here gives of his strange experience at Monte Cassino. He relates how he waited the whole of the next day impatiently for the night time and for the return of his ghostly visitor. True

to her promise she once more appeared in his cell and explained to him the fall of Adam and the rebellion of the fallen Angels. The explanation cleared up all his doubts and difficulties, and he declared that after this he was able to answer the objections raised in scholastic discussions, and, as he says, according to the testimony of his friends, satisfactorily.

During the next four years passed in the Monastery of Monte Cassino, Leonicus was able to compose a treatise on the subject of the Fallen Angels, which was acknowledged to be sound both theologically and philosophically. On this tract, he writes: 'As God is my Witness I daily worked unceasingly to set down the opinions of the theologians, and, omitting all ambiguous statements and useless discussions, I endeavoured briefly and clearly to treat the whole question. I hope that I have sufficiently satisfied the learned, if they are not offended by my prolix style. I have set forth in three commentaries the case of the proud Spirits, whom we call the Fallen Angels; secondly, the disobedience and fall of our first parents; and finally, the descent of the Incarnate Word from heaven to redeem us.'

At Florence, Leonicus appears to have studied under the celebrated Demetrius Chalcocondylas. As already noted, this scholar was the friend of the Englishman Prior Sellyng, who introduced to him his pupil Linacre in the year 1486, and who, leaving him there to study, obtained permission for him to share the instruction given by Demetrius to the two sons of Lorenzo de' Medici. It is of interest to note that this letter-book of Leonicus contains some sentences of a lecture upon Homer, read in the public schools of the University of Florence by Chalcocondylas on April 1, 1486, the very year, by the way, that Linacre came to study under him. Other notes also, probably by Politian, on Cicero's *Oratio pro lege Manilia*, are entered in this small volume. It was at this time at Florence that Leonicus became known to the younger de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., and here too he formed a lasting friendship with the English student Linacre.

Before settling down at Padua, Leonicus lived apparently at Bergamo. Here he formed several friendships, about which he writes in some of his early letters. To Niçolao de

Monte Falco, for instance,[1] and to Francesco Gargano he recalls these friendships he had formed there. 'I am the same here at Padua,' he writes, 'as I was at Bergamo; but my friends here are not those I got to know so well there. But, by the Immortal Gods! I know not why I get no letters from those friends, though I have several times written to nearly every one of them; and to some, I have written three or four times.'

Nicolao Leonicus was called to teach at Padua in 1497, and his great merits as a Greek professor and as a philosopher, were recognized.

[1] Vat. MS. Ross. 997, fol. 2.

III. PADUA UNIVERSITY

Among the many honourable seats of learning which existed in Northern Italy, Padua had a distinguished place. It is situated on a fertile plain surrounded and traversed by the Bachiglione River. Its University dates from the thirteenth century, and was frequented by students from many foreign countries as well as from Italy; in fact the students there were divided into four groups of nationalities, French, Italian, German, and Provençal. Very many English students found their way there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The disastrous wars consequent on the League of Cambray practically put a stop to the life of the University between 1508 and 1517. Only a few of the professors and students remained at their posts during this dismal time, but the revival of life was so rapid at the reopening of the schools in 1517 that, when in 1519 Pole arrived, work was in

full swing. The University was, and still is, familiarly known as the 'Bo' from the fact that it stood upon the site of a famous old hostelry called *il Bove* or the Bull Inn, which is said to have been able to accommodate 600 guests and 200 horses.

The city was extensive and included many beautiful houses with large gardens. One of these was set aside for Pole and his suite. This, from what is known about it, must have been more of a palace than a house. It was capable not only of lodging Pole and his attendants, but gave accommodation to his friends and to the English Ambassador and his secretaries, besides other friends of Pole.

The abilities of Leonicus as a Latinist and as a Greek scholar were fully recognised in Padua and elsewhere in Italy. He is held to have been the first to try to purge the existing works of Aristotle and other Greek authors from the commentaries and insertions of the Arabian philosophers and to restore the true Greek texts of the originals. His published works are numerous, and they were reprinted frequently in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He made special friends

with British students at the University of Padua and retained the lasting affection of such men as Bishop Tunstall, William Latimer,[1] Linacre and others. It was without doubt through the influence of these old friends that Leonicus was selected in 1521 to act as tutor to Reginald Pole, when this royal and brilliant youth was sent by the King of England, Henry VIII., his kinsman, to complete his studies at the University of Padua. The great scholar Bembo, in writing to Pole in January 1525, speaks of the eminent qualities of Leonicus, his tutor, and names with him as another master, one Baptista Leo[2]—both 'most worthy and most learned men,' and this Leo is referred to in a letter which Leonicus sent to Pole in the same year, 1529, when, in describing the ravages of the plague at Padua, he laments 'that the most learned

[1] William Latimer was born about 1460. In 1489 he was a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He was in Italy with Grocyn and Linacre and studied with them in the University of Padua. After his return to Oxford he was the tutor of Reginald Pole. He died in 1545. Erasmus calls him *vere theologus integritate vitæ conspicuus.*

[2] Baptista Leo was a native of Florence and was regarded as one of the most brilliant scholars of his time in Italy.

man, our dear Baptista Leo, was carried off by it, to the great grief of all of us.' It is, of course, of interest even to note the name of any teacher of Reginald Pole in Padua, but undoubtedly Nicolao Leonicus was the chief tutor, master and friend of the brilliant young Englishman, as the letters written to him and entered in this small volume, that has lately come to light, abundantly prove.

IV. REGINALD POLE

REGINALD POLE, the future Cardinal, was the son of the Countess of Salisbury and a second cousin of the English King, Henry VIII.[1] He was born in 1500 A.D., and was for five years at school in the Charterhouse of Sheen, where he gave evidence of great ability and a serious disposition for study. From Sheen he passed to the house of the Carmelite Friars at Oxford, and matriculated at Magdalen College. His studies at the University were directed by Thomas Linacre and William Latimer, two of the most renowned English scholars of the day. Both of these Oxford teachers had passed through the schools at Padua, where they had become the intimate and lifelong friends of Leonicus, the writer of these letters.

[1] His maternal grandfather was George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., whilst his father, Richard Pole, was a grandson of Margaret S. John, who by a second marriage was grandmother of Henry VII.

Pole, when hardly more than a boy, is said to have attracted some attention at Oxford by a scholastic disputation which he held publicly in the schools; and there can hardly be much doubt that he must have heard a good deal about their studies and friends at Padua from his two teachers Linacre and Latimer, and about their special friend at that University, the Greek professor, Leonicus, with whom they continued to correspond. And so it was but natural that when, in 1521, at his own request, Pole was allowed by King Henry VIII. to proceed to Italy to study, he decided to go to Padua. At the end of March 1521, therefore, Henry VIII. recommended his young relative, Reginald Pole, to the kindly attention of the Signory to the Venetian Republic so as to facilitate his entry into that school of learning. Shortly after this, however, the royal recommendation was somewhat modified, because Reginald Pole's two brothers had been arrested for supposed disloyalty to the King, and Henry VIII. begs the Signory not to make too much of the young student, lest he prove to be disloyal like his brothers.

Meanwhile the Signory did all they could

to show honour to the King of England's young relative and protégé.

Pole set out for Italy early in April, and by 27th April, 1921, announced to the King his arrival at Padua. He expresses great gratitude for Henry's liberality, which has enabled him to come to study in Italy. The expenses of his journey have been great, he says, and he finds that the authorities at Venice have no wish to leave him in retirement, as he would have wished, though he has told them that he has come solely with the object of study. In this letter to King Henry he tells him that he has no intention of letting the nobles and bishops he finds at work in the University at Padua outstrip him in diligence.

In May, a patent was made out for Pole in view of his stay at Padua, authorising him to export plate, clothes, etc., and the Signory at Venice appointed Leonicus to act as tutor to the young English nobleman. A spacious house was chosen for him, which was later described as well furnished and so full of beautiful things that it might rather be called a 'Museum' than a dwelling-house. As became his rank, he had a retinue of four or

more servants and gentlemen, who obtained leave to carry arms.

Apparently the first letter which Nicolao Leonicus wrote to his pupil, was just after his arrival at Padua. It runs thus:

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE[1]

I am requested by a friend to communicate with you, and ask whether if it suits your convenience, you would like to hear a boy preach in the Church of St. Anthony here. Wonderful things are said about him: people declare that both as to doctrine, eloquence and a wonderful memory, he is easily one of the first orators of our time. Therefore, if you have nothing more important to do at home, wait for me, and if you please, we will go there together. *Vale.*

To this letter Pole replied:

REGINALD POLE TO N. LEONICUS[2]

The very novelty of the thing about which you write—namely a boy preaching in the Church of St. Anthony—leads me to wish to go and hear him and not to look down upon such an orator. Your desire also that I accompany you thither easily determines me. Therefore to-morrow, please, I will expect you at my house. *Vale.*

[1] MS. fol. 44. [2] M.S. fol. 44v.

V. PETER BEMBO[1]

Not very long after Pole's arrival at Padua, the celebrated Latinist, Peter Bembo, returned to Padua from Rome, whither he had gone in 1520 to become Secretary to Pope Leo X. The occupation of writing official letters was never a congenial task to one who longed to compose in Ciceronian periods, and so in the summer of 1521 he found an excuse of ill-health to leave the Eternal City in search of repose at his Villa of Noniana near Padua. This retreat must have been a veritable paradise, and in describing it to a Roman friend, Bembo says that there he 'hears no distasteful or tiresome news.'

I do not think of lawsuits (he writes). I have not to talk with agents. I do not visit auditors of the Rota. I hear no sounds but those of nightingales, singing round about me

[1] Bembo was born at Venice, 1470, and made Cardinal by Paul III. in 1538. He was considered one of the most learned men of his age.

in melodious rivalry with other birds for my pleasure. I read and write when I please ; I ride and I walk; and not seldom I take an airing in a small wood at the end of my garden. From this spot, in every way most delicious and most lovely, I often gather with my own hands a salad for the first course of my supper, or a large basket of strawberries for the morning, which perfume my mouth and indeed the whole table. I forgot to tell you that the garden, the house—everywhere—is filled with roses all day. Then, I have only to go a fair stretch in my little boat, at first down a meandering streamlet, which ripples past the house, and then along the Brenta, into which after a short course my streamlet flows—a pleasant and noble river; and this in the evening time, when running water rather than land delights me.[1]

Bembo's house was a centre of intellectual life, and was furnished in the most luxurious fashion. Its pictures, statues and other works of art were famous throughout Italy and indeed throughout the world. His library contained the most precious manuscripts, some of which can be identified at the present time. The famous Virgil of the fifth century,

[1] Quoted in *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1923, p. 215.

for example, now in the Vatican, was in his collection, as well as the hardly less precious copy of the same, now Vatican Codex No. 3252. The Vatican Terence of the fourth or fifth century was also in the Bembo Library at Padua.

To this retreat of rest and pleasure, its master Bembo returned in June 1521; and a few days later Nicolao Leonicus came to visit him on his return, and at once wrote to Pole an account of this meeting at Noniana.

Bembo was at this time deeply interested in the question of establishing on a scientific basis the Italian language or, as it was then known in distinction to the classical Latin, the *Lingua Volgare*. There were many scholars opposed to the idea of having a popular language to take the place of the Latin tongue. Amongst those who earnestly worked to establish the popular language, the chief scholar was Peter Bembo, and the letter about to be quoted, which gives an account of a discussion on the matter held in Bembo's house, is of interest, as in his published writings the future Cardinal gives an account of two other such discussions held, the one at

Venice in the presence of several members of the Medici family, including the Cardinal, afterwards Pope Leo X.[1] This conference was held in the winter, and the disputants, we are told, drew their chairs up to the fire whilst Bembo upheld the necessity of having a national language, and pointed out that in Rome there were then two languages, Greek and Latin, still in use, and the need of one recognized form of speech, especially for the use of foreigners, was of the highest national importance. The language, he pointed out, already existed, and had almost become classical through the use of it by such writers as Petrarch, Boccacio and Dante.

The introduction of Pole to Bembo is connected with this same agitation of the great humanist scholar on behalf of the modern language. Leonicus thus writes to Pole about the visit he made to Bembo after his return from Rome.

N. LEONICUS TO R. POLE[2]

My beloved Pole,—Peter Bembo, a man deeply learned in the discipline of letters, and

[1] *Gli Asolani* di Monsignore P. Bembo. Venice, 1546.

[2] MS. fol. 14v.

with few exceptions the foremost lover of antiquity, returned a few days ago from Rome, wishing to rest after the fatigues of the long journey. Directly after he had recovered from the trying cares of business, and before taking up other work, he settled to go to his charming villa near Padua. This place indeed is replete with every pleasure of the country. A smooth rivulet flows through its charming lawns and no pleasanter place can be conceived. It is not far from Padua, and with little trouble every convenience of the city can be enjoyed by those who live there. As he had been absent for some length of time, I found there some other friends who had come to see him and welcome him home. Amongst these there were Anthony Marosticus and Christopher Longolius, men trained in all scholarship, who were in daily intercourse with Bembo. After their first greetings and enquiries as to his health and that of their mutual friends, and as to the news in Rome, they began a conversation on matters about which, as it seemed to me, they wished to hear him talk and had really come with that end in view, rather than from a mere desire to see him and salute him. For, as often before, they had been wont to discuss the question of the value of the Latin language

in comparison with the vernacular (or Italian), and Marosticus, as he ever did, had contended that the vernacular, if not equal to Latin, was certainly not inferior; whereas Longolius maintained that the two could not be compared, holding that the modern tongue was in every way inferior. When the dispute had continued without concluding the matter, I thought that the time had come when Bembo should be asked to state his opinion. On this Marosticus said: 'We much wish, Bembo, since we are at leisure here, and have, so it seems to me, nothing better to do at the present moment—unless indeed you have something else to attend to—to have this question between Longolius and myself brought before you. We want you to know the facts, and after a judicial examination determine the question. Longolius and I have often spoken of you and are persuaded that you alone and no one else can settle the matter.'

Longolius, on his part, declared his perfect agreement with this proposition and begged Bembo to act as judge between Marosticus and himself. Then, Bembo, turning to me, said: 'See, Leonicus, how I am constrained by our friends' opinion of my judgement, to do what is always dangerous and likely even to

lead to difficulties between us, if I am to take one side or the other. I am in a difficult position and it is by no means easy to explain my standpoint. So, in the present instance, I think it more prudent to hold my tongue.'

Upon this, Leonicus says that he suggested the plan of allowing the disputants to state their case fully in writing, and that then Bembo might be in a position to decide. To this solution Bembo agreed, on condition that Leonicus would act with him as associate and assessor, and this also was agreed to, and here for the moment the discussion came to an end.

VI. CHRISTOPHER LONGOLIUS

A WORD may now be said about Longolius, whose name has just appeared as taking part in the discussion and who will be referred to several times subsequently. This celebrated scholar was born at Mechlin in 1490, the son of Antoine de Longueil, Bishop of Leon and Chancellor of Anne of Brittany. When only nine years of age, Christopher was sent to study at Paris, and soon showed that he was possessed of exceptional abilities and had formed a resolute determination to succeed in the field of letters. He found his way to Rome, where he fell under the influence of Bembo, and was induced by him to take seriously to the study of the classics and especially to model his Latin style upon that of Cicero. When Bembo returned to Venice, Longolius followed him and lived in his house till 1520, when, upon Bembo's being called once more to Rome, to become the secretary

of Leo X., Longolius made his way to Padua, where he found a new patron in the person of Stefano Sauli, brother of Cardinal Bandinello. It was here that Reginald Pole first made his acquaintance some time in May 1521. On the 7th of that month Longolius, in a letter to the English scholar Linacre, thanks him for a present which he had that day received as a token of friendship through the hands of the young English student, Reginald Pole.

Longolius, through Bembo, had already made a friend of Leonicus. He had also previously come across Pole, during a visit to England, and when Pole was settled at Padua Longolius came to live with him, although, as he wrote to his former host Sauli, he did not feel so much at home in his new quarters as he did with him.

I find myself transplanted (he says) to distant England. I cannot complain of any want of kindness on the part of those with whom I am now living, but I miss your delightful company and all our happy talks. For Reginald Pole, though of excellent parts and learned, as well as being a youth of fine

discernment, cares little for our kind of discussions; and while he is endowed with marvellous modesty, he is also prodigiously taciturn.

Speaking of the visit which Longolius made to England, Pole in the life of his friend which he contributed to the volume of Longolius' letters, published immediately after his death in 1522,[1] says:

Before he (Longolius) returned to Italy, he wished to see the noble island of Britain. He was drawn thither by the repute of those who, as he had heard, were superior to other learned men in Greek and Latin letters. Having spent some time with them, their learning so pleased him that he conceived the highest admiration for them, and, as I [Pole] have often heard him declare, he found there, in those men, learning so polished and exact, that even in these times, when all are possessed of the elegant arts, there could hardly be found anywhere more excellent scholars.

Longolius lived with Pole at Padua for about a year; and, as the latter declares, in the 'Life' of his friend, they were ever most

[1] Florence, ed. Junta, Dec. 1524.

united in their interests and in their studies, to the last day of Longolius' life. His death came with unexpected suddenness. Pole, in August 1522, had gone to Venice to meet the English Ambassador, his great friend, Richard Pace. Longolius was not well enough to accompany him, and remained behind. On August the 20th following, he wrote to Pole that he felt himself to be dying:

It was surely (he adds) a divinely sent premonition which led me to show you my collection of books, just before you started, and to ask you to accept them as a gift, if anything unexpected should happen to me, whilst you were away. In the name of our friendship, which I feel to be at its close—our last day together was nearer than either of us expected—I beg you to remember me, if I die, with all the kindly offices of piety that our love and friendship may claim.

On receiving this letter, Pole at once hastened back to Padua. But the end did not come till 11th September, when in Pole's presence and that of his older friend Bembo, Longolius passed away.

In reply to a letter sent to Bembo by Pole,

the latter was invited to visit the Italian scholar at Noniana, and the opinion then formed by the great humanist of the English scholar was that he 'is perhaps the most virtuous, erudite and grave young man in Italy at the present time.' Messer Leonicus, he adds, who came with them (*i.e.* Pole and Longolius), is 'a reverend man of seventy years and a philosopher deeply versed in both the Greek and Latin tongues.'

VII. WILLIAM LATIMER

Pole had arrived at Padua with a cordial introduction to Leonicus from his old Oxford tutor Latimer, who had been the friend of the Greek Professor at Padua when he was there some years before with Grocyn and Linacre. The antiquary Leland says that 'Latimer became most eminent and was worthily numbered among the lights of learning in his time.' He was the friend of all the great scholars of the time, including More, Fisher, Pace and Erasmus.

Latimer's letter recommending Pole, Leonicus answered some months later in the following[1]:

N. LEONICUS TO WILLIAM LATIMER[2]

I received from you several letters about the same time; the most recent being dated

[1] Apparently sixteen months after Pole had arrived, which would have been about the middle of 1522.

[2] MS. fol. 34.

the 4th of December. This our friend Lupset handed to me on 8th May last. All these, *me hercule*, are full of evidence of your kindness and friendship. You see what I ought to do rather than what I do. When many blame me for my silence to you, you, as in the letter which our friend Hall took to you, strive to make excuses for me. You have commended Pole to me most earnestly; you have done your part courteously and lovingly, and, as his preceptor, who should be always in the place of a parent, it is my duty to do everything possible for him. With his usual courtesy, Pole, both by the acuteness of his mind, and because of the excellence and elegance of his training, has already gained from me such a place in my heart that if he were my son I could not have greater affection for him. I wish that at the present time I could do everything to correspond to his desire to work, to his talents and his quickness at learning. I do my best to second all his desires, which are indeed my own in his regard; but at the age I have already reached, I find that, though I may suffice for others, the labour of teaching and the strain of study, owing to my weakened health, makes it difficult for me to be content with what I can do. Still, whilst so hampered, we have been able

already to get through some work. In the past sixteen months we have read together the eight books of Aristotle's *Topicorum*; four books *De Caelo*; and we have finished the first book *de Generatione*. We have also considered and are now prepared to attack the second. . . .

I had wished also that your friend Lupset, whom you also specially commended to me, could have had time to study these treatises, but he is much away with the illustrious Pace, who never likes to let him be absent from him.

Leonicus then goes on in this letter to thank Latimer for the present of a gelding, which he says he has received from him. He has not yet been able to try it; because when it arrived at Padua, after a long journey, it was not well, and when handed to him it was lean and weak.

I will take care to revive it (he says) by a long rest and more fodder than it has been used to of late. It is certainly an elegant-looking beast, as you write, and as you have sent it I have no doubt it is quiet to ride. When later I shall have tried it, I will write to you again about it,

Leonicus then says that he is sending Latimer a clock as a present in return, and as a pledge of his affection:

It is a small clock, but well made. It will be useful to you, I hope, since where you live, as I hear, the hours are not rung.

He proceeds to give instructions how it is to be used. It is wound up by a little key, formed like a Greek Y, which is inserted in a small hole at the bottom of the face, and turned a full circle.

Then the instrument inside begins to act, and the wheels to revolve, and by means of the figure on the top it may be set, and will tell each hour. If it be well wound it will go for ten hours, but after that time it must be re-wound. Another thing also may be known from the instrument, which will please you: the growth and the decrease of the moon may be seen by numbers affixed to certain days on the instrument.

VIII. RICHARD PACE

The coming of Richard Pace, the ambassador, into the neighbourhood of Padua was a cause of disturbance to the studies of Pole. Pace was one of the most remarkable men of his age. He had been a protégé of Bishop Langton of Winchester, who was first attracted to him by his musical talents. It is conjectured that he had begun his higher studies at Queen's College, Oxford, but it is certain that in 1500, at the age of eighteen, he was sent by his patron, Bishop Langton, to study at Padua, and from that University he passed to Ferrara. In 1509 he went to Rome in the retinue of Cardinal Bainbridge, and was with him there in the English College when the Cardinal was murdered in 1514. The following year Pace was made secretary to King Henry VIII., and the same year went as ambassador to the Swiss. Whilst at Constance he wrote his tract *De Fructu*, from which

so much is known of the chief Englishmen of the age.

On returning to England in 1520, he became reader of Greek at Cambridge, but was called almost immediately from this congenial occupation to attend the King at the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold.' The following year, after the death of Pope Leo X., Pace was sent to Rome to further the candidature of Wolsey for the Papacy. In 1522 it was expected that he would stop at Padua on his way to Venice; and on 9th August the Venetian authorities wrote to Francesco Donato, the Captain or Governor at Padua, to prepare for a visit, which 'will be most agreeable' by reason of his (Pace's) eminent qualities and rare endowments; and, because he is known to bear affection to the Venetian Republic, Donato is requested to inform Don Leonico, who lectures to Pole, of the good disposition of the Signory towards Pace. Leonicus is to meet him on his arrival at Padua, and is to defray all the expenses of his stay there, and those of his retinue. Should Pace lodge in Pole's house, all the food supplies both for him, his followers and his horses are to be furnished on behalf

of the Republic of Venice. Don Leonico is to accompany the ambassador to Venice, and he is to let it appear as if he did this spontaneously and not as if directed to do so by the authorities.

These arrangements, however, fell through, because Pace preferred to pass by way of Ferrara and down the Po, reaching Venice on 20th August, 1522. Here he had a great reception, and the Senate congratulated him on his learning and abilities. Meanwhile Pole had come on to Venice from Padua, and apparently remained with the ambassador for some time. Pace at the time was ill and remained an invalid for some months. In fact, in the following March 1523 he was still unwell, when he was sent to Switzerland to induce the States not to throw in their lot with France in its attack on Italy. He did not, however, remain long on this mission, as Henry VIII. in May bade him return and remain at Venice, no matter what other directions should be sent him by Wolsey.

IX. WAR IN NORTHERN ITALY

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Italy, particularly in its northern parts, was distracted by constant wars, an echo of which is to be found in these letters of Leonicus from Padua. Three great Powers disputed at that time the mastery over the cities of Italy—the Emperor Charles V., the French monarch Francis I., and the English King Henry VIII. The victory of Francis I. over the Swiss at Marignano (1515) enabled him to impose upon Pope Leo X. at Bologna the Concordat, which governed the organization of the relations between the Papacy and the French Government till the end of the old régime. The Pope was much disturbed by the hold that foreigners had upon the cities and principalities of Italy, and he established a league against the foreigner with the motto '*fuori d'Italia gli Barbari*.' Padua in the days when Cardinal Pole was there, was in the centre

of these disturbances and intrigues, to which the writer Leonicus often refers, as will be seen.

In 1524 the second war between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. broke out, which terminated in the battle of Pavia (24th February, 1525) and the capture of the King of France; and in 1527 an army of Germans, mostly Protestants and Jews, marched on Rome. At the same time the French renegade, the Constable of Bourbon, with another German army and Spanish and Italian traitors left Milan. The Duke of Urbino let them pass, and the league had the effect of leaving the Pope unprepared. The English ambassador, Pace, was much occupied in trying to defeat the schemes of the foreigners in Italy. He was mostly in Venice in 1522-3, and during this time he paid a brief visit to Rome.

Pace returned to Venice, and on the 1st of November, 1523, Leonicus wrote to him as follows:

N. LEONICUS TO RICHARD PACE[1]

Marmaduke (one of Pole's suite) coming from you three days ago, brought me Plut-

[1] MS. fol. 52.

arch's book on *Avarice* which you have translated into Latin.[1] This, *me hercule!* I have forthwith read through with pleasure. Then with greater care; and now I have re-read the whole. I did this, both because it was Plutarch's work, to whom as an author I am greatly attracted, and because it is translated by you, whom I love, or I might say greatly love. Perusing the book I was delighted at the evidence of your genius and learning, since you have thrown light on things, which in the original were obscure or not to be understood by all. You have, however, rendered the sense so plainly that it can be comprehended even by those who are moderately learned; but who can with this help easily read it. You have also diligently noted those passages, which must remain difficult however plainly and carefully the book is read, and would appear to arise from the obscurity of the author. Also if there be anything to be corrected, you make the change, and explain it in such a way that were Plutarch to come to life again he would agree that this was the meaning of what he wrote. Wherefore there comes to my mind what is said of Teucer in Homer.[2] This can be properly and fitly said

[1] This translation was printed at Venice in 1523.
[2] *Iliad* viii, 273 *seq.*

of you, for you so turn the Greek into Latin, and so possess both languages, that indeed with your rendering, our age would not need to learn the Greek text. Should you determine to do the same good work in other cases, or if your love of studies so move you, and other business does not prevent you, you will render a great service to students. But, since the course of your life removes you from these studies, and more important matters claim you, even so, as often amid the call of most urgent affairs there is need of some relaxation, in future works of this kind you may find your repose in the Latin language. Thus you will acquire an illustrious reputation, and by your studies in these arts, in which you excel, you will be rightly placed among the first of scholars. *Vale.*

From PADUA,
1*st November*, 1522.

A few weeks later Leonicus writes again to Pace as follows, telling him of the election of Pope Clement VII.:

TO PACE[1]

I am pleased in the past days to receive your thanks through our mutual friend Pole.

[1] MS. fol. 57v.

And now by these letters at this time I can inform you of the election of Julius de' Medici, now Clement VII., as the Supreme Pontiff. This, I fancy, will be a special pleasure to you, since you have long regarded him before all others as your friend and he has ever held you as most dear to his heart. You see him now raised to the highest dignity. There is no part of the world which does not rejoice in this event and exult at the news with all signs of pleasure. Nor is this rejoicing without reason, *me hercule!* because no one else but him could easily be found, able to heal the wounds and evils that on all sides afflict the Christian commonwealth, which like some vast and tortured body is struck down by some unknown fate: I congratulate you therefore to begin with, and then all who bear the Christian name; and I pray the Almighty and Good God that since He has been pleased to grant us His blessing, He will also assist Christian princes to be well disposed, ready to adopt right counsels, to listen to the voice of the Pastor sent them from heaven; and that God may make the whole Christian world one fold and one Shepherd. This I hope may quickly come to pass.

About yourself I wish to know, what you are now going to do here, and whether you

will pay us a visit before you return to your country, if you are returning. It is wonderful what a desire to see you you have left in all who knew you, and especially in your friends, who love you and indeed have you ever in their minds. Lupset and Pole are well and salute you. They are doing great things in the study of letters. The same also may be said of the familiars of Pole: so that his whole house may be regarded not as a mere dwelling-place, but a veritable museum. In the meantime, farewell, and keep your love of us. When you are at Rome, guard your health, which belongs to many others besides yourself.

A few days later, apparently (as there is no date) Leonicus writes once more to Pace about a work upon which the latter was engaged, and which he had sent to his friend the Greek professor to read.

I have come to the end of the second volume of Chrysostom (he says). Perhaps you may exclaim, 'What! have you already devoured the whole of Paul and Chrysostom?' —I have truly read both; but then I abstained from any other reading and gave my whole time to your work: so now I want to have the other volume. *Vale;* love me and pray for me.

X. CUTHBERT TUNSTALL

On 8th June, 1523, Leonicus writes as follows to Bishop Tunstall,[1] then occupying the See of London, who was his fellow student in Padua at the beginning of the century. In 1491 Tunstall had entered Oxford and matriculated at Balliol. He migrated to Cambridge and became a fellow of King's Hall (now Trinity College). He shortly afterwards went to Italy and took his degree at Padua, where he not only received a sound theological training, but mastered Hebrew and Greek. Erasmus mentioned Tunstall, as one who did credit to English scholarship. He was a firm friend of Warham, More and other classical students of his time. In 1522 he was made by papal provision Bishop of London, and was translated to Durham in 1530.

Leonicus' letter is as follows:

[1] MS. fol. 52v.

TO BISHOP TUNSTALL

Lupset coming to us here, Oh most learned Tunstall, handed to me your letter, dated from London on 6th March (1523). In this communication you clearly speak of your affection for me, and of the pleasant memories, which neither length of time nor change of place have obliterated. These things fill me with great joy. When one expects to be loved and appreciated, how greatly increased is our own affection, in fact, when he who loves you is one who is himself rightly and deservedly loved and admired by everyone, and whom not one or two merely, but a whole people and an entire nation praises and extols for great and lasting benefits obtained. Of very truth the people of your country regard you as an earthly god, for, because of your happy nature and your charming qualities, it is not unseemly at present so to regard you. For these reasons, not by your powerful Sovereign alone, but by the people generally you are considered most worthy of esteem.

These also, Leonicus says, are his own sentiments, but he does not want to give utterance to mere praise, and so he passes to Tunstall's letter, which has reached him:

In this you strongly commend your friend Lupset to me; you ask that I will hold him as one dear to my own heart, and by every means possible help him in literary matters. You promise also to regard what is done for him as if done to yourself. Indeed, though you should act differently with me, as I have said, I will most certainly endeavour to do what my age allows, for although already feeling old age coming on, I can still afford help. I hope that the expectations formed by our friend Lupset of me, if not entirely realized, will be taken with good grace, for I will most willingly serve him. But of this later. Some years ago I composed three small books *de Varia Historia*.[1] These contained some three hundred chapters of histories, and I determined to dedicate them to you. I told my wish to that noble youth, Reginald Pole, your great admirer, and he promised to find out whether this would be agreeable to you. When I get the leave I will print the book and publish it.

Vale, most worthy Sir, and remember me.

PADUA,
8th June, 1523.

[1] The book, with a dedication to Cuthbert Tunstall, was published at Venice, 20th January 1531. The dedication is dated at Padua, February 1531.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since I hear that by reason of the wars the carriage of letters takes a long time and is uncertain, in order to be sure that my letters certainly reach you, I have thought it a good plan to enclose herewith copies of those I have addressed to you lately. You may, however, like to know that Lupset has given me your letter dated at London, 7th March (1523).

XI. THOMAS LUPSET AND THOMAS LINACRE

Thomas Lupset, who has been mentioned frequently, was born about 1498, the son of a London goldsmith. He attracted the notice of the great Dean Colet, who took him into the School of St. Paul's, and then sent him to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. In 1515 he was with Pace at Venice, but in 1519 he returned to England, and read rhetoric and the humanity lectures at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1521 he became M.A. of his University and read Greek there, but again in 1523 he was at Padua as Pole's companion. He continued to have cordial relations with Erasmus and the English scholars of the time, but he died prematurely at the age of thirty-five. Shortly after his arrival at Padua he wrote as follows to Leonicus:

I am greatly obliged that, according to my request, you have been pleased to write such amiable letters. The man's name is John

Claymond and he holds a great position, since he is President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

This Dr. John Claymond, to whom Lupset refers, was born in 1475 and educated at the Grammar School of Magdalen College. He took his D.D. degree at Oxford in 1510, and became President of Magdalen College. This office he resigned in 1516 to become head of Corpus Christi College, which was founded in that year by Bishop Fox. His learning was held in great and universal esteem, and he was a munificent benefactor of books to many Oxford colleges. Though many of his MSS. still exist, he never published anything himself.

On 19th January, 1524, Leonicus wrote to the celebrated Englishman, Thomas Linacre. Born probably at Canterbury, Linacre certainly received his early education in the monastic school there, from which Sellyng, Prior of Christ Church, sent him to Oxford, where in 1484 he became a Fellow of 'All Souls.' He there probably continued his Greek studies, which he had begun under Sellyng, in the lecture room of Cornelio

Vitelli, who then was teaching in the Oxford schools. Linacre was the constant friend of two other scholars—Grocyn and William Latimer; and in 1485 he went to Italy with Prior Sellyng, after which we find him at the English Hospice in Rome as one of the officials, and subsequently he took his M.D. degree at the University of Padua. Richard Pace, in his *De Fructu*, speaks of a brilliant disputation which Linacre held at that University. Linacre became a celebrated physician and scholar, and is regarded as the founder of the English College of Physicians. It was from him that More learned Greek. To this eminent man Leonicus, who had known him well when he was studying at Padua, writes:

Most learned Linacre, I send you a copy of my edition of Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia* in order to have your critical and considered judgment upon it.

The Professor also wished to have from Linacre his well-known commentaries on medical matters. He desires, too, to have something of his own on the shelves of Linacre's celebrated library, so that its presence

might at least testify to the kindly feeling of Leonicus for him.

Here (he says) Pole and Lupset are well and both salute you. They are youths, *me hercule !* worthy of all praise. When they apply to the higher studies of letters, they make such progress that few are to be found their equal, and certainly none their superior.

XII. LETTERS FROM LEONICUS TO ENGLISH SCHOLARS

Pace must have interfered with the regularity of Pole's studies, for on more than one occasion he was the guest of Pace at Venice. Pace continued to be in bad health, until he went, by order of the English Crown, to Milan and to Switzerland to persuade that country not to join France in its Italian ventures. Returning in the middle of 1523 to Venice, Pace was directed by the King of England to remain there, and it was through the intercession of his friend Richard Pace at this time that Leonicus obtained from the Venetian Senate leave to print his *Commentaries* on the *Parva Naturalia*. On 5th August, 1523, the English Ambassador went to stay with Pole at Padua. A month later, on 14th September, news came that the French had crossed the Ticino and had taken up their position fifteen miles from Milan. Prospero Colonna had

retreated, placing a strong garrison in Pavia. Pace at once left Milan for Crema, and reports that the Duke of Urbino, the General of the Venetian Army, was leaving Crema for Venice on the 18th of September. Pace thereupon went hurriedly to Rome, apparently to concert measures to oppose the French advance, and remained there till 10th March, 1524.

Meanwhile Leonicus wrote to William Latimer in England.

Pole, he says, had in the last few days brought him several letters. One, without a date, speaks of the clock sent, as having been received.[1] He is always glad, he writes, to get his friend's letters, no matter how brief they may be. 'Absence so helps the words of a letter as to make the writer present.' His congratulations on the *Commentaries* are pleasing. 'Our work,' says Leonicus, 'is not such as to deserve notice from learned men, and be approved and commented on by those whose noses, as the saying is, are anointed. The Ambassador Pace,' he explains, 'was the cause of the publication, and

[1] See *ante*, p. 36.

if in this edition there is found anything to offend, he must be blamed.'

Pole and Lupset study most diligently and are united affectionately, and both venerate you. Not a day goes by when we are together that we do not talk about you many times: nothing so delights these youths. I add a word (he continues) about the gelding you sent me. Know that it is steady and has become elegant in appearance, for it is treated well by me, and so treats me steadily and quietly. Therefore I daily praise you and give you thanks for bestowing on me such a gift. I have not as yet seen the Venetian Ambassador (*i.e.* Pace), who returns here. When I get the chance of seeing him I will do what you write. Good-bye, and love me.

PADUA,
16*th January*, 1524.

Shortly afterwards, Leonicus wrote again to Latimer about the horse he had sent him and which he much prized. After the complete rest he had given it, and thanks to the good food, he says it can now be considered, without doubt, an elegant and trustworthy animal. No fault can be found with it, ' unless perhaps this single defect, which is slight: namely,

that it is afraid of darkness; and so people call it a vice of its spirit; but it should be described rather as a weakness. I am sure that, considering all things, it cannot be held to be natural to it. You may therefore be quite easy as to your gift, for it is a good horse and it will be most useful to me. About this more at another time.'

Our Pace (he continues) is at Padua, to which, after the wonderful and truly great work he has accomplished, namely the peace he has brought about by reconciling Christian princes, he has come to rest his mind, especially as at the moment he is preparing for another journey. Since he is living with Pole, and is in consequence close at hand, we pass nearly every day together, discussing various literary subjects; and, because of the pleasing memory of the time when you and Cuthbert Tunstall were here, our talk is nearly always about you. Pole is here too, and every day I discuss many things with him; for the elegance of his scholarship, his most cultured manners and also, *me hercule!* especially because of his affection for you, we do not allow an occasion to pass without recalling your memory. Lupset, too, that youth of great promise, is also with us. As I promised you,

I do not lose any occasion to afford him my help when he wishes it. All these beg me to salute you for them. Good-bye, most learned Sir, and think well of us. Our *Commentaries* on what are called Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia* are in print and published. Pole and Lupset will see that copies go to you and to our friends over there.

On 19th January, 1524, Leonicus wrote to Sir Thomas More.

He begins by confessing that up to this time he has had no familiar intercourse or friendship with one who, though the whole breadth of the world has separated them, has been known to him by his reputation and virtue. Leonicus is now, he says, constrained to make himself personally known to the English scholar and to draw nearer towards him:

And this not without reason, *me hercule!* for we have here with us now worthy men, who proclaim the greatness of your virtues. Amongst these, the chief one is Reginald Pole, a man not more celebrated for his learning than for his acute judgment. He constantly speaks about you not less plainly than with truth, and he declares that you may truly and rightly be accounted one of the most learned

men alive, deeply versed in the study of all the true arts. I am therefore led first to salute you by this letter, and thus to try to make myself known to you, and then by this book of mine (the *Parva Naturalia*[1]), which I send you as a present, I hope to please you, unless indeed this kind of study may alienate your good will, rather than attract you, and you may be inclined to think the giver wanting in tact rather than as exhibiting the civility he intended. But, however that may be, I pray you show me that courtesy which is your characteristic, and consider the giver rather than the gift. If, in exchange for this book I send you, you will give me your great work on the Government of a Republic [*i.e.* the *Utopia*] you will greatly please me and lay me under a lasting obligation. For this I ask most earnestly. *Bene vale.*

PADUA,
19*th January*, 1524.

On the 15th May of this year, 1524, Leonicus wrote to Pace as follows :

N. LEONICUS TO RICHARD PACE

After your departure from Italy, I have not written, though, whilst you were in Rome, I

[1] Printed at Venice, June 1523.

had sent some letters to you. This is because I was not sure where you would be, nor how long it might be before you left for Britain. Moreover, it was rumoured that the Pope's Legate, who was in Germany, had determined to meet you somewhere; another reason for my not writing was because in a few days I hoped to meet someone to whom I could confide my letter—I mean your servant Hippolytus. This man, when he was with our friend Pole, once suffered from a bad leg, and when he became a little better, I made use of him. He, consequently, will give you this letter, and from him you can learn all about me, and about everything that is taking place here; for there is no reason why there should not be many matters of interest to you besides what I have written down in the present letter.

With regard to public affairs here, you should know in the first place that the French War is finished by their retirement—not to say flight—from the suburbs. All here, both those who were in favour of the French and those who were of the other party, have been wonderfully encouraged in the hope of now having a lasting peace and real tranquillity in Italy. The forces of the Duke of Milan, which were at Vercelli until the departure of

the French, and which pursued the flying French, are said now to have returned to Milan. Bazolus of Mantua, who held the position firmly, had asked for eight days, during which he would deliver the city to the inferior forces of the Venetians.

At Rome the plague continues to ravage the city. Celebrations of all kinds are prohibited. Even the *Rota* is closed and all law decisions are in abeyance. At Venice things go well, and it is hoped that for the rest of the year there will be quiet. Ships, however, are being prepared and launched, but this is thought to be done more according to custom, than in the expectation that they will be needed. It is considered certain that Hamet, who some months ago deserted from the King of the Turks, has with him great and well found forces. He holds nearly all Egypt, and intends to attack Syria, which already he looks upon as his own. It is rumoured that the Turk is preparing a big fleet and army to proceed against him as soon as possible. Hence it is to be hoped, as the saying is, 'that the *rabies* will be spread among the dogs.' Unless this takes place in Pannonia[1] this year,

[1] The Roman province of Pannonia comprised the whole of Hungary and most of the non-Germanic portion of the late Austrian Empire.

without doubt matters will fare badly. In writing all this I have no wish to exaggerate, and send you what may be old news; but I have thought it best to write these things to you, that you may know what is the news among us.

In general you may know that matters go sufficiently well with me. I keep as well as an old man can expect to be, to whom age is certainly an ever present disease. I read and write, and above all I keep you ever before my mind as a delightful memory. I am much in the company of Pole, and with him our conversation almost always begins about you and certainly finishes with thoughts about you. Lupset also is always with us. He loves you sincerely, and as the saying is, 'has you ever before his eyes.' All the other servants and attendants of Pole are so attached to you that they admire and honour you before all others. This is what I have, O Pace, to write to you at present. And you, if you wish on your part to please us and to show your affection by writing, answer me. *Vale.*

At Padua,
15*th May*, 1524.

In the September of this same year, 1524, Leonicus was engaged in seeing his *Com-*

mentaries through the press at Venice, and he wrote to an English friend whom he calls Harnell, but whom it is difficult to identify among the scholars of the day.[1]

'I have learnt from our friend Lupset (he says) what diligent care you have given to my affairs. I cannot repay your goodness, but fortunately Pole is going to that part of the world (*i.e.* Venice), and he will relieve me of the weight of my indebtedness.' He begs they will both of them see to the correction of his *Commentaries* for the press, and that Harnell will salute one Mula[2] for him.

PADUA,
1st September, 1524.

A week later Leonicus writes again. He expresses his pleasure at receiving Harnell's letter and adds:

What you say as to my having always had and still having an affection for you Britons, I willingly confess to. My love goes out to those who love letters. As to Pole, our

[1] It seems highly probable that this is a reference to Edmund Harvel, a gentleman of Pole's household, but who was at the same time in correspondence with Thomas Cromwell and Wolsey.

[2] A Venetian named Amulius and popularly called *Mula*.

mutual friend, there need be no doubt, since I love him better than my eyes. He is one of your highest nobility, but he is far nobler and more illustrious for his genius and learning. He shows me true kindness and affection, which force me both to love and reverence him. In a word, I know not how God has ever wished me to have affection for all Britons, and especially for such as are eminent above their fellows for their abilities and learning. In that number I count you, Harnell, who by your most elegant letters have caused me to write to you.

PADUA,
7th September, 1524.

In the same year, in August, Leonicus wrote to one whom he called Thomas Francis Poggio, an Englishman about whose identity there is some doubt. After sending him his salutation, he continues:

Reginald Pole, a man of rare nobility and noted for his virtue and moral qualities, and with few equals conspicuous in all literary studies, has lately given me your present. This consists of three rings, which every year your King either has fashioned, or when made

bestows on them a power granted him from heaven to cure the cramp and other similar diseases.

Leonicus thanks him for this gift, especially as through Pole he hopes to be regarded as his friend, although previously:

I fancy I was quite unknown. . . . By such acts as these even those who are divided from each other by the whole world, or placed in another world, are brought together. Your kind thought of me, which is much more than the most precious gift, will be remembered whilst I live, and I shall ever be your devoted and faithful friend.

After 1523 Pole was frequently absent from Padua. In fact, he and Lupset were generally with Pace in Venice and Trent. In May 1524, consequently, Leonicus writes to Pole as follows:

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE

During the past months I have received two letters from you couched in almost the same terms, containing the money you send me. To these I have replied by the same number of letters, which I gave to Harnell to

convey to you. Since that, he has not written, nor have I had other letters from you. I now write to you a third time, both to draw from you another of these letters, which so delight me, and in order to tell you something, which I know will please you. I am well, and with moderation, as my age dictates, spend my time in literary pursuits. Only such time as the needs of my body claim, do I take from study. I have read the whole of Galen, and I have diligently noted in it many matters, and in particular in those points which seemed to belong to Philosophy. It appears to me, indeed, in the wisdom of my old age, that he is the most skilful exponent of the teaching of Plato.

He then goes on to say that these *Commentaries* are dedicated to Pole. In them he will find much regarding Philology, and not only about Plato, but about Timaeus and Phaedrus and other dialogues; and indeed not only these, but also of the Stoics Chrysippius, Pontius and Posidonius, etc.

Whilst writing this to you, regarding my studies, I am wholly devoted to the praises of Galen, which, as I have said, I have read through entirely. Now, however, as I have

tasted again something of Plato and Aristotle, they appear to me more exact and more wonderful than before. For lighter reading the works of Cicero serve me, and the Greek and Latin historians. In regard to the entry of Caesar [the Emperor Charles V.] into Italy, about which in the past days all talked so constantly, now even the Imperialists themselves hardly speak of it even in secret. Nothing is being done in Liguria: both the opposing parties abide at Milan. In everything they are badly regarded. What is cruelly extracted from strangers is shared only amongst friends. In Apulia the Spanish forces are not to be despised. They are laying siege to Monopoli, and their pay is reluctantly found by the citizens. Help should have come from the Venetian fleet; but it is said to have departed without doing anything.

The writer concludes by saying that Pole might like to know that the gelding received from Latimer is far from satisfactory; it has developed into a 'roarer' and has a difficulty in keeping its breath, so that it is practically useless. He suggests that perhaps he might get another in exchange.

PADUA,
31*st May*, 1524.

On 26th May of this same year Leonicus wrote to Pole a brief note: '*Salve Pole*,' he says; 'after dinner to-day, whilst I thought of our friend Poggio—for daily his gift brings him before my mind—I considered what sort of a letter I could send him. If you think that the enclosed will do, please return this draft to me: if on the other hand you think not, please tear it up. *Vale*.

To this Pole replied:

Since you ask my opinion, I think that your letter should certainly be sent, as it is evidence of the noble and generous mind of one who, in return for the golden gift of cramp rings (since you could hardly send a similar one), sends a gift of your own divine genius, such as few, or rather no one else, could offer. Certainly also of all the things which you might give him, Poggio would value, in my opinion, nothing so much as the gift you propose to send. To tell the truth, I certainly hope that you will send this gift, since I desire that your affection, which it shows, may be known to all. This affection I see plainly in all your writings and sayings wherever I turn.

Leonicus sent another letter to Pole on

26th June, 1524, which is interesting as recording More's present of the *Utopia* to him: 'Three days ago our friend Clement, on his way to Venice, came to see me.'

It may here be explained that this John Clement (*Clemens noster*) married Margaret Roper, the ward of Sir Thomas More. He was born in Yorkshire and was educated at St. Paul's School, London. About 1519 he settled at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was made Cardinal Wolsey's rhetoric reader, and subsequently Greek lecturer. In 1527—the year after this letter regarding him was sent to Pole—Clement took his M.D. degree.

Leonicus continues:

Unfortunately, when Clement had called, it chanced that I was out, but he left a book to be given me. Shortly afterwards I returned and it was handed to me. When I opened the parcel, I saw on the first page the words, 'The *Utopia* of More.' I am delighted, *me hercule!* at receiving so unexpected a present, though I am not clear whether Clement left it for me to read merely or whether I should regard it as a present. . . . In either case, after supper I gave myself up to reading the volume, and I continued to do so for a great

part of the night. By the immortal gods! how that reading delighted me. In many sections my expectation, though previously great, was surpassed. In the work I really do not know what I should praise most; the fertility of his genius: his happy and admirable invention: the elegance of his style: the rich grace of his eloquence or the completeness and dignity of the work itself. Indeed the Utopian Republic, in my opinion, should be certainly assigned a place higher than any other similar description made by any ancient writer. Would that it was not merely a fiction but written as sober history! Would that in some place or other in the world there might really exist a true republic of philosophers! . . . But sufficient for the moment about this delightful book.

Richard, the messenger (they say), has come back from Britain. He has not brought me any letters, which might tell me if mine had been received there or not, and whether the books I sent hence reached my friends safely, or were lost in the long and difficult journey. You will do me a service if you have heard anything about this in the letters you have had. Let me know that you and Lupset, and the other Thomas [More] are well. Tell me what and how much you are studying and

what you do in those delightful hills, especially at this time of the year and in this great heat. With us certainly it is hard to live when we can scarcely breathe. *Vale.*

PADUA,
26th June, 1524.

In the early autumn of the same year, 1524, Leonicus was engaged in seeing through the press at Venice a volume of his *Commentaries* on philosophy. He dedicated this book to Pole, and the letter in which he asks his permission is to be found in this collection of letters, exactly as it afterwards appeared as the Preface of the published volume. It is dated 31st August, 1524.[1]

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE

A few years ago I wrote some lectures on various subjects, but especially on philosophical matters in the style of the schools. Some of these saw the light so far as to be given to friends: others, however, are still in manuscript, and now I have been asked by my friends to examine, correct and edit them in a volume of *Commentaries*. Many

[1] Venetia. See Legrand in *Bibliographie Hellénique*, iii. p. 297.

things have prevented my doing so up to the present. But when you, most learned Pole, a few days ago discussed the matter seriously with me and exhorted me not to delay this edition any longer, I concluded to act upon your words and to dedicate the volume to you.

Two other letters regard the printing of this book. At the end of September, Leonicus writes thus to Pole: 'I have had letters from my *Mula* (apparently his agent at Venice),[1] who writes that the printer tells him that he will begin to set up our *Commentaries* in three or four days. He declares that nothing shall prevent his doing so, and meanwhile he begs to have the Preface, so as to begin with that. I therefore send it to you so that, together with our friend Lupset, you may carefully examine it; re-write if you think anything should be changed; add or cut out, according to your pleasure. For I know it is one thing to write only for those to whom we send our work, and another when we hope that many will read what we write.'

In a second letter, written the following

[1] See *ante*, p. 63.

day, Leonicus says he has just had another urgent letter saying that the printer is asking for the promised Preface. He begs Pole to let him have the manuscript, 'for,' he says, 'to-morrow I will see that *Mula* has it: or you might send it by Raymund (your servant) to the printer direct, and so allow the printing to proceed.' The volume in question appeared this very year at Venice with the above letter of Leonicus to Pole as the Preface. In the copy of this impression, now in the Vatican Library (Misc. F. 119, 64), there is an inscription, *A Mgr. Marcello de Garzoni*, and the handwriting is very like the script of these letters of Leonicus.

XIII. THE FRENCH INVASION

On February 1524-1525 Pole received from Leonicus a letter about a speech made by the Bishop of Bath and Wells before the Pope and Cardinals in public Consistory. The orator was Bishop John Clerk, a graduate of Cambridge. He had studied law and received his doctor's degree at Bologna. Becoming chaplain to Wolsey, he was often employed abroad on the English King's business. In 1523, on Wolsey's resignation of the See of Wells, Clerk succeeded him: going to Rome as Bishop-Elect, and being consecrated there on 6th December, 1523. He continued to represent the English Crown in Rome till 7th November, 1525. He was chosen as the Ambassador to present to Pope Clement VII. (Giulio de' Medici) the work of Henry VIII. against Luther, for which the Pope granted the English Sovereign the title *Fidei Defensor*. His oration on that occasion was a powerful

assertion of the constant devotion of England to the Holy See. It is possibly to this speech that Leonicus alludes in the following letter:

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE

'I have read the letter, or rather speech, of your Bishop of Bath.' He thanks Pole for his opinion about himself, which he does not deserve.

With Pace and Lupset you have filled me with joy by telling me of the happy successes of the Imperial troops. I rejoice and pray God Almighty that their leaders may shortly be ranged together with the men of Padua, and may be able to give the most desired good news of some alliance rather than some bloody battle. This certainly cannot come about except by the force of Christian principles. But whatever be the issue, I beg you as soon as possible to let me know it.

Vale et me amate.

PADUA,
24th February, 1525.

Several letters passed between Reginald Pole and Nicholas Leonicus in the February of 1525. In one, dated the 11th of the month, the philosopher thanks Pole for the news he

has been forwarding him about the war on the Ticino, because other news, not perhaps from a very reliable source, is being circulated; namely, that the Spaniards when they came to a fortress on the river (which being swollen made the attack on Pavia difficult) found that the French had partially cut the dykes and let the waters free. This made it likely that without accomplishing anything the whole army would have to abandon Pavia. 'There is nothing that the French desire less than to face the Spaniards in battle, and this, it is said, they cannot be forced to do. Pavia is reported as hardly able to support itself.' These, however, are mere rumours.

You, from where you are, can learn more quickly and more truly what is daily taking place: if you will keep me informed, you will do me a kindness.

Vale, and in my name salute the illustrious Richard Pace and my loving friend Lupset.

PADUA,
11th February, 1525.

On the 16th of the same month Leonicus writes acknowledging letters from Pole, but

he has had none later than the 11th ; since then, not one from Pole himself, but one from Lupset, who gives some news about the Ticino.

He tells me (he writes), that a large store of powder has been conveyed into Pavia and that the citadel is well supplied with provisions for two months. There are many here also who assert this. Others, however, as confidently declare that the city is so surrounded by ditches and ramparts of earth that nothing can pass into it. This does not mean only powder and such like supplies; but nothing whatever, not even a letter. The Spanish are suffering hunger in their camps, and in all other respects are in a bad way. A great part of them are without tents and have to pass the night under the open sky and on the bare ground. You can easily find out the truth of this, and as I am always curious about anything concerning this war, when you hear anything important I beg you to communicate it to me. I trust you and your judgement. On my part I promise that whatsoever small gossip I can gather here, I will report to you.

Vale, and commend me to the illustrious Pace, whose letters I gave to the Bishop of

Pola[1] three days ago. This latter has to-day sent me the letter which you will receive with this. I ask you to salute also our friend Lupset.

PADUA,
16*th February*, 1525.

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE

Unless Pace himself had written to me, I could hardly bring myself to believe what you tell me in your last letter. I am bound to credit Pace's words without doubting, and so I accept the news: namely, that the garrison of Pavia has attacked the camp of the French, and put them to flight. They have pursued them as far as the bridges which lead into Pavia from the isolated French camp, and by which the other camp can be reached. I could not have believed this news from the Spanish camps, especially when I look at the map which Lupset sent me. In this the city appears so surrounded, that unless the citizens were to break up the enemy camps, destroy the cannon, level the fortifications and fill in the ditches, they could do none of the things which you say have been accomplished.

I ask you to keep me informed. *Vale*, and salute in my name the illustrious Pace and our

[1] Altobellus Averoldus (1497-1531).

most dear Lupset. If you remember, whilst you were here, I spoke in praise of one who had made a musical instrument. He is now in Venice and is going to present himself to you and show his art. If you will facilitate his getting to you and give him a few words of encouragement, you will satisfy him and please me.

PADUA,
16*th February*, 1525.

Again in February, Leonicus writes to Pole:

Your letters were, as indeed they always are, good tidings to me, and removed altogether any doubt which I had in my mind on account of the map which Lupset sent me. As you write, and as is really the case, a sufficiently big space exists between the French camp and the town of Pavia, into which at their pleasure the inhabitants of the city can penetrate and cross swords with the enemy. Most probably this is the part beyond the range of the guns to which the French withdrew their camp from the city. So it is well, and after this I will no longer doubt it.

What you write concerning Giovanni de' Medici, I heard yesterday from the Bishop of Pola, to whom I handed Pace's letter. Also I learned that the wound he had received was

on the knee, which is certainly a dangerous place. The doctors doubt whether the wound can be cured. Continual pain and violent contraction of the nerves are the inevitable consequences of a wound in such a place.

I judge not alone from your letter of to-day and from that of three days back, but from the constant report of all, that God has happily protected the Imperialists and allowed all their plans to succeed. Would that to the end of this war He may continue to do so ! But you tell me nothing of what is taking place at Venice. I hear indeed that by the decree of the Senate solemn intercession is being made in various places. These prayers, it is said, are also to be made throughout Italy by order of the Pope. This is wisely ordained and the worthy act of a Christian Pontiff. But it would have been better, when the evil commenced, to have attacked the cause, and not, after the whole Christian world is involved in a vast conflagration, to beg God to send his rain to quench the fire, and to prevent the destruction of so many Christians. As it appears, the evil has deeper roots than any that can easily be torn up and extirpated. But to see this result is of the greatest moment in human things.

Let us return to our present purpose. I

ask you, Pole, to do at my request, what you also, I am sure, would do of your own accord: namely, to write to me everything, both great and small, which happens to you. I confess that I am pleased to have the news, and I am also charmed by the smoothness and elegance of your literary style, to which, *me hercule!* few can now aspire. What I thus say, I trust you will take from me.

Vale, and salute from me the illustrious Pace and my well loved Lupset. I shall be pleased if you will send me a copy of *Epistolæ*, c. 1, *ad Atticum*, published by Aldus.

PADUA,
21*st February*, 1525.

Whilst Leonicus was in doubt what to believe, other letters arrived from Pole, confirming the wonderful things accomplished by the troops of the Emperor.[1]

Some day in the March following, Leonicus wrote again to Pole, who had then returned to Padua. He had, he says, been kept at home for three days by a terrible tempest, and had been unable to come to him as he had

[1] This apparently refers to the battle of Pavia, Feb. 25, when the French were defeated by the Imperial troops and Francis I. was taken prisoner.

promised. He had not even been able to send him the 'Epigram' he had already recited to him, and which he wished to offer him. He now sends it; but he is not satisfied with it, since the first fervour of composition had passed. As regards the horse, which Pace and Lupset had told him about, he had wished to acknowledge it by these verses, and prays that if they so please to send the animal on. He is also eager for news as he has heard nothing for three days, except that one of his domestics reports that the French have quitted Pavia, which they had constantly asserted they would certainly capture. The tempests must have been a great obstacle. The French dread cold and rain, especially when they have to spend the night in the open.

A few days before this Leonicus wrote to Pole:

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE

Lupset's map has greatly delighted me. From it I have made out the river Ticino and the three camps of the French besiegers, as well as all the Spanish positions. . . . What can one want more? Whilst I study it, I seem not to be at Padua but on the Ticino.

So in my name give my best thanks to him who has rendered me this great service. Nothing of what you have written to me in yesterday's letter is known here. I readily believe what you say, since there is here complete silence, and even Bitichemus, who is wont to mix, or pretend to mix, a great deal in these matters, is quite silent. It is true that anything out of the ordinary is quickly heard of, and as the besieging camp is so near, I readily believe it. . . . What will be the lot of the future? Keep us informed with frequent letters as to all that you know.

Vale. Salute the illustrious Pace and beloved Lupset in my words.

PADUA,
18*th February*, 1525.

To Lupset on 8th February, 1525, Leonicus writes that he has received his letters from Trent. He is most pleased to get his news during his absence, and the most interesting thing in his last letter is what he says about the Bishop of London in relation to the dedication of the *Histories*. The Bishop had not spoken of it in his letters to himself.

It is ever most pleasing to me (he continues) to hear what you write regarding that most

holy old man Claymond, and that youthful Poggio, a man of rare nobility of character. I love them, since they are what you describe them, and, as the saying is, 'I bear them in my eyes' (*ferro in oculis*) and esteem them. Whenever you write to them commend me.

Vale, and salute in my name the illustrious Pace and the most learned Pole.

PADUA,
8th February, 1525.

Another letter to Lupset at this time from Leonicus refers again to the map, which had helped him so much to understand the situation of Pavia:

Your letters are always most pleasing to me, most kind Lupset. The painted drawing of the siege of Pavia brought the whole matter before me in such a way that I could go round the camp of the Imperialists and the French without danger.

The Professor again begs to be kept informed of all events:

I was greatly pleased to hear what you say of the pious studies of Pace, who amidst the terrible disturbances all round about him, keeps his soul in such perfect peace, that he

can occupy himself in translating the Psalms. Indeed how I admire his fertile genius, occupied with holy thoughts. When some good appears from this, it will profit not alone the present generation, but will benefit future ones as well. To him, therefore, and to the most learned Pole give my best salutation.

The last letter addressed to Pace by Leonicus in this collection is dated the 20th of February, 1525. Pace, in returning from his mission to the Archduke, had passed through Padua and had been the guest of Pole, who together with Lupset had accompanied him to Venice. After Pace's return to his post as Ambassador to the Doge, Leonicus writes:

N. LEONICUS TO RICHARD PACE SENDS GREETINGS

I am pleased that my letters have moved you to laughter. Just now, I fancy, you can have little chance of amusement when you are treating of affairs and business with men who do not appreciate this kind of thing. But it is good if my letters to Pole can amuse you, and can draw you away, as far as it is lawful, from the sadness of these times. I would that sometimes those things could be discussed which would afford you pleasure, and not only you, but all your friends, of whom I claim to

be not the least. May God grant this. What you say to me, that after this I should take care not to believe those who, listening to party rumours, retail mere phantoms of their imagination, I will carefully carry out. But is there anyone who is not more or less infected by this habit? And how can I tell those who are distinguished for this fault? for as things now are, the way of men, even of the upper classes, is very different in that regard. It is difficult to believe any side, and even with great caution it is dangerous to do so. After this, therefore, I will give no credit to reports rashly set about, unless such reports have your sanction, for you should know what is taking place. You, with your integrity and love of truth, together with your truly philosophical mind, and affection for the various parties, can without doubt claim one's confidence.

Yesterday I went to the Bishop of Pola, to salute him in your name and to explain to him your directions; but I did not find him at home. He had gone I know not where. To-day, or at latest to-morrow, I will again go to him, and diligently do your behest.

Vale, and salute Pole and Lupset from me.

PADUA,
20*th February*, 1525.

In the same year, 1525, Pole paid a flying visit to Rome for the Jubilee, and did not remain long in Padua after his return, and the departure of Pace for England.

On 24th April, 1525, Reginald Pole was still at Venice, and on that day he attended a great ceremonial together with Pace, the English Ambassador. The latter was unwell and returned with Pole to Padua to recruit. The change, however, does not appear to have done him any permanent good. In September he became seriously ill in Venice, and Pole went there to be with him. To the letter which he wrote to report to Leonicus at Padua the latter replied:

I understand from your letter, written so quickly, what is the matter with Pace and how he is at the moment when, the fever having left him, he has suffered a new flux. If this is only the result of bile and he does not suffer pain, and if it does not last, it will really do him good and, as the doctors say, the cause of the disease will pass away by the proper part of the body. Every care must be taken, however, that the evil does not last long, for in one of such a delicate habit of body as our Pace, a wasting of the stomach is always to be

feared. If he is not better, do not think of leaving him: so you will act rightly and as a friend. Would that I had some skill that could be useful to him: I would at once fly to him. But, as a man with no medical experience, my advice can be of no service; nor as a weak old man can I be of use. I can but ask of God that He may preserve him and quickly restore him to us. I shall be most grateful if you will frequently let me know how he is. *Bene vale*, and take care of your own health.

A few days after this Leonicus writes again:

To-day I received early in the morning your letter written yesterday. This gives me the good news that our friend Pace is free from the fever and from the flux of the bowels. The doctor and all of us now have the best expectations that he will soon be well. Thanks, therefore, be to God! and to the excellent doctor, whoever he may be, who has gained the victory, and has quickly relieved us of our anxiety. It will be now your duty, after three or four days, when he has recovered his strength, to arrange to bring him here to Padua and to us. Here the mildness of the climate, the presence of friends, and a little freedom from public business will affect

the cure. He can, in the first place, see to his health, and then take pleasure in the company of his friends.

On 28th April, Pace had sufficiently recovered to travel, and came with Pole to Padua to rest and recruit as Leonicus had suggested. Later he returned to Venice, where in August he received the King of England's orders to come back to England and to pay no attention to Wolsey's directions to the contrary. He left Venice, consequently, on 2nd October, and went for a short time to Padua to prepare for his journey. He was still very ill, and not able to sleep. Pole received him and nursed him for a few weeks in his house, without doing him much good. He, however, started for England, and on 17th November, 1525, is reported as having arrived very ill in London.[1]

During the autumn of 1525 Leonicus had written to his English friends, and he requested Pole to see whether he should send certain letters or not. 'I have written,' he says, 'to my British friends, and I send you

[1] On his return to England Pace incurred the displeasure of Wolsey, and lost his preferments. He is said to have become deranged, and died in 1532.

the letters to forward. Read them, and if they appear worth sending return them to me to sign: if not, tear them up.' *Vale.*

To this Pole replied: 'I do not envy the good friends to whom you write at such great length, nor am I so angry with the wits (who will receive them) as to tear up your elegant letters. Sign them, therefore, and return them to me. I will take every care that they are forwarded.'

On his return from Rome, Pole appears to have spent the year 1526 between Padua and Venice. According to a note in Sanutus' Diary, he was present at a procession and other festivities in the latter city given on 8th July, 1526, in honour of the league between France and Italy. He reached England early in 1527. It is possible that he may have accompanied his friend Pace on his return, since as the ill-health of the King's Ambassador had continued, the Doge had in this year urged his recall.

During the years of his stay at Padua, Pole had made the best of his opportunities for study, and had formed friendships among the most celebrated scholars of his age. Besides

writing the life of his friend Longolius, he had diligently collected, no doubt under the guidance of the great humanist Bembo, variant readings and emendations of Cicero's works, with the intention of editing a critical edition. Subsequent events in his life, however, caused the idea to be put aside.

Reginald Pole got back to England in 1527, after five years' absence. To keep out of public life as far as possible he took up his abode in the house which the late Dean Colet had prepared for his own old age in the grounds of the Charterhouse at Sheen.

XIV. POLE IN ENGLAND

APPARENTLY Pole was not a good correspondent: at least Leonicus very frequently upbraids him for not replying to his letters. Thus in the spring of 1526 he writes:

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE, SALUTATIO N

After your departure, Pole, I wrote some letters to you. These I know for certain have reached you, and yet so far no letters or messages have come to me. I know not indeed what is the cause: whether it is that you have drunken a deep draught of the waters of Lethe, you have, at any rate, altogether forgotten those whom you have left here, and who have followed you on your departure. There are Bembo and Stampa and many friends, who, whilst here, you used to call dear friends, and to whom you solemnly promised to write. Our wish would be abundantly satisfied by a few letters. What we were formerly to you we still are; and as occasion serves we will continue to send our

letters and keep you informed of what is taking place with us. And in the present instance we embrace the opportunity to give a letter to one who promises to give it to you. Since he is a Briton I have no fear that he will not do so.

In a letter dated 10th May, 1527, from Padua, his old friend and professor still complains of Pole's silence.

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE

I know not why it is that since you left France and got back to England I have had no letter from you. News has reached me about you from others rather than from yourself, yet when you departed from Padua you solemnly promised that wherever you were, you would write to me and keep me informed of all your doings. I know not how the issue has been so different. It is just as if you had drunk deeply of the waters of Lethe, and wholly forgotten all that happened at Padua. Perchance you will try to rebut the charge of silence on your part, and accuse me of negligence in not writing. Briefly, then, see how much better my case is than yours. It is you that departed, and were unable to tell us where you would be, since everything de-

pended on chance. I remained at home. For me to move from here many things, as you know, make it impossible, especially old age. Consequently, by right you should first have written to me and told me where in the world you were, so that I, thus informed, might be able to write to you. But to forgive this. Next you were not very long in France before you were summoned home and crossed over to Britain. You then went to London, where, as I know, you talked about me with one of my friends. Would it not have been a kind thing to have given him then a letter for me? He told you he was writing the same day to me, and this he did: and with his letter your letter might safely have been sent. But at the time you did not write, prevented perhaps by most urgent business. So be it: I do not press the matter. Though some months have passed since then, why have you still not written? You have most unkindly neglected the duty of friends apart in distant regions to communicate with each other. Behold your faithful promises! Behold the love of a friendship long established and well founded! Are these manners proper to the philosopher or theologian? I have much else to say and with reason to complain of about you. As I

was uncertain where you were, I was unwilling to let my letters get into wrong hands. This, then, is sufficient at present. Later, I may write more when I know for certain to what place to direct my letters, that they may assuredly reach you, or when I may be more free to complain about you if you continue your silence, or to praise you, which I should prefer, if by frequent and long letters you take care to repair your past omissions in the way of writing.

Whilst writing this, letters were brought me from London, dated in April. In these I am told that you were then seventy miles from the city. I have thus little hope of getting anything from you this summer, unless you return quickly. But alack! I ask you what kind of a man is this Lupset of yours? Because, when some months ago he came hither to accompany you to France, he promised me to carry my news to the Bishop of London: and further he added some silly jokes to the sober notes of More, which he sent me. Is this the way to treat me? Or is it not wicked to treat a well deserving old friend so impudently?

Vale, my Pole, and write and remember me to all friends over there, especially to that really holy man William Latimer. About Italian news I expect you are kept informed

by private correspondence and public letters of all that is taking place. There is one unexpected report, which from its gravity has struck all minds, and though not well authenticated, it is even as I write so spread about that I cannot ignore it. It is said that a force of Germans and Spaniards, under the leadership of the Bourbon, passed through Umbria, and Etruria in a few days, at this most difficult time of the year, when there is the greatest dearth of all things, and have reached Rome. Having scattered and defeated the forces of the Pope, who met them under the walls of Rome, they forced a passage into the city. They drove the Pope, with most of the Cardinals and nearly all the Legates, to take refuge in the Castle of Adrian, and there they are besieged. Rumour also adds that an army of French and Venetians, following on the heels of the Imperialists by long and forced marches, in order to help those who were besieged, is hastening to the city. I have rapidly written this, as I have learned it, before I closed my letter. More reliable information you will learn from the public accounts, which in a matter of such importance will come to us quickly. *Vale.*

From PADUA,
10*th May*, 1527.

XV. TROUBLES THROUGH WAR AND PESTILENCE

An incident connected with the sack of Rome in 1527 is recorded in a couple of letters in this collection, written in the following year:

N. LEONICUS TO HERCULES GONZAGA (CARDINAL OF MANTUA)

Some months ago, that is last year, I sent you my *Commentaries* on the book of Aristotle, *De partibus animalium*. My intention was that you should publish the *Commentaries* and introduce them under the sanction of your authority. This hope, however, has been long abandoned, since not only have you not done this, but the *Commentaries* handed to you by my nephew have not even received an acknowledgement by any letter from you. When, some months ago, on your return from Venice, you came to Padua, I came to pay my respects to you, you did not say a word about the matter.

From this silence I, and indeed it seems to me anyone, even the most stupid person, would gather that my gift did not please you, and was not considered worthy to be published under your name. For this reason I beg you will be pleased to return the *Commentaries* to me. For I, lest (as the saying is) I should 'have wasted my oil' in writing the work, will at my own expense give them to the public. *Vale.*

PADUA,
17th April, 1528.

To this Cardinal Gonzaga replied in the month of July:

'I could not but wonder, when I read your letter, at the absence of your old courtesy and politeness. You think that I was not sufficiently anxious to publish your *Commentaries*, and thus add great and lasting renown to my name.' He continues at some length to conjecture that Leonicus thought that it was avarice which really stood in the way, and that he, the Cardinal, did not wish to spend his money in this way. 'Avarice is a vice,' he says, 'that does not exist in my family.'

But to excuse myself, I will tell you

the whole story. When the *Commentaries* were handed to me by your sister's son there was nothing said about your wish that they should be published, and I consequently thought that you wished to act as many illustrious men have done in such matters. To name only recent examples: Pomponazzi Pietro and Gaspar Contarenus. The former, when he had explained almost all the books of Aristotle, did not attempt to get commentaries published: the latter, when he had written on the immortality of the soul, sent the book to his preceptor Pomponazzi to see, who printed it against its author's wish. In the same way I thought that in sending your book to me you had the same idea of giving your book to me. Had I thought that your intention was to have it published, I should have been pleased to have my name celebrated abroad and for all time by being associated with such a celebrated man. I grieve to say, however, that this book, which was brought to me in the year I went to Rome, I took with me, and, on showing it to Furnius, he asked me to leave it with him for a time. I did this most unwillingly, but could not say 'no' to so friendly a man and your great admirer. I left Rome, and during the sack of the city your book perished. If you will make

another copy, and send it to Venice, I will see to the printing of it, which I would have done long ago if I had known your desire.

As to what you write about my not having said a word to you on the matter, when I was at Padua; you, as a clever and prudent man, should remember that at the time my mind was not in a fit state to treat of business. Who would be able, when his mind was occupied as mine was by grave matters regarding my nunciature and by Roman affairs, to turn to small things like this ?

Vale, and salute Bembo in my name.

To my excellent Master Leonicus, my dear friend in Padua.

In the month of February, 1528, Leonicus wrote to the Bishop of London (Tunstall) in England on some money matter. He says:

I received your letter dated the 31st of December, 1527, from London. In it was a money bill, which you had taken care to change to have it paid to me in Venice. You then believed that the former bill, which Antonio, your agent in Genoa, had accepted, had not come into my hands, and that the money had never been paid. But be easy in your mind: don't blame your agent nor suspect the merchant. Everything happened a few days ago

as you wished, for your letter was brought here and the money faithfully paid to me. Hear the reason of the delay: your letter dated in London on the 7th of July, which contained the bill of Antonio of Genoa, reached me only in December. This long delay was not due to any negligence of his, or to any difficulty of transmission, but was caused by the blockaded and guarded state of the roads. But I am not sure that this delay was not to the good, for the money, as you know, was small in amount and would hardly have been of much use unless as much again had been added to it. Now a good chance and God have made up the sum. I will therefore use the money in the way I feel would have been your wish. If this idea does not please you, I will at once either send back the sum or pay it to whomsoever you may please. Only let me know what you wish and that quickly. In the meantime I will hold up the whole matter.

Vale, worthy Prelate. I pray that your years may be prolonged to those of Nestor, to the common good of the whole of Britain. Your prudence, holiness, uprightness and benevolence are attested by all, and are so evident that no one is jealous of you.

Padua,
8th February, 1528.

In a letter to Pole about this same time, Leonicus speaks about their having discussed together a 'Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul,' which Bembo had dedicated to him. Plato had argued on almost the same subject. For this reason Leonicus writes:

Whilst recently I had some leisure, it came into my mind to discourse on the existence of these Spirits, as far as I was competent. The one question is connected with the other, but it is most difficult. The subject submerged me in profound darkness. When I meditated on it and exerted all my powers to fathom it, I became doubtful whether, after all, I could attempt to write on it. I was helped, however, not only by many writings on the matter by ancient authors, but also by what had been written on the opposite side, which I was unable to judge, approve or disapprove. Always attached piously to our religion, I hold it to be true what it tells us to hold and believe, and what it commands its followers to know and observe without doubting. However, since I was urged on by a friend, whom I could not refuse, I examined every difficulty, and have now collected together into one volume of 'Dialogues'[1] what I had already

[1] This volume was reprinted at Lyons in 1532. *Vide* Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, iii. p. 339.

heard from Bembo and got from other reading. And, as I have done in other cases, I dedicate it to you, for to you chiefly I should commend these my late fruits, since you are the most illustrious philosopher of our time and ever my best patron. *Vale.*

In March 1529, Leonicus writes a letter to Pole full of news. He acknowledges having received from him two long communications and several short letters. Three days before, he says, Pole's friend Harnell had come to Padua from Venice. Pole had asked him to bring his old professor a present of money, equal to 30 Venetian ducats. The present arrived at a most opportune time. A few days ago, the Professor says, he had had to find a dower for his nephew, and the sum received from Pole just enabled him to pay it over. He thanks Pole, therefore, for his great liberality and for the love he has manifested to him, and with which he is overwhelmed. 'I thank you,' he continues, 'and will ever keep the memory of this your opportune present written on my heart.'

Leonicus is especially pleased, he writes, to hear good news of Pole's health, which is so

important to all. Every friend of his at Padua rejoices at the news of his good health. All delight at the thought, seeing that, as first in Padua, so now in Britain, Pole is acknowledged to be one of the most illustrious of living men.

About matters here in Padua you will desire to be informed. During the year after your departure we had a sufficiently good time. I mean those of us who live in this corner of Italy, for wars were afoot almost everywhere else, and there was severe fighting in all Etruria and Rome. This city was at last taken and liberated from the Spanish and Germans. But, since the madness of war was a long way off, it seemed to affect us here very little. The following year—that is the year just over—the cruel consequences of war ravaged not only Venice and Padua and all the surrounding country, but indeed almost the whole of Italy; that is to say, an unknown form of disease took hold of the people. At the beginning they called it *perechias*, for the entire body was covered with spots, accompanied with a burning fever. It seized even upon the strongest, and in seven, or at most nine days, carried them off. During that period that most learned man, our most dear

Baptista Leo, fell a victim to the disease, to the great sorrow of us all.

It will be remembered that Bembo, writing to Reginald Pole in 1525, speaks of Baptista Leo as being that English nobleman's joint tutor with Leonicus,[1] who says that this recent death had affected him greatly. Leonicus continues: 'My sister's son Paul is also dead, not by the same disease, but by consumption contracted some months ago.' The spotted fever was followed after a few days by the true plague, which raged cruelly during the summer and autumn, and indeed into the middle of the winter. It, too, caused the greatest destruction of life among the people of Padua. Studies were suspended at the university: the city was left empty and desolate, for all the scholars departed. The citizens shut themselves up in their villas outside the city: very few, and these but rarely, were seen in the town.

During this time also our friend, Giacomo Roccabonella, died. Shortly after this, however, the plague stopped, and the returning students once more gave its wonted aspect to

[1] See *ante*, p. 15.

the university. But immediately after this a third calamity overtook us, and everywhere we suffered greatly, for the price of provisions, which during these two years had been excessive, not amongst us alone, but in almost the whole of Italy, so increased, that famine, especially among the labouring classes, added to our miseries. Many who had survived the sword and the plague were carried off by hunger. These are the matters which most sorrowfully, *me hercule !* I have to tell you.

About myself, if you would know what I am doing and how I am at present, I may say that I have kept well during all these dangerous times; and now, thanks to God, I am very well, that is to say as well as an old man of seventy can be. I have all my senses, and as far as my age allows, I have vigorous health, so that I cannot be considered altogether incapable. I still walk on foot all over the town, and still can use Latimer's nag. This I take great care of, both because it reminds me of one most dear to me and because it is quiet and carries me tenderly. I read assiduously, and I also write. All this is a pleasure to me, and to it I devote all my energy. I live pleasantly with certain friends—few indeed; but those that are learned, and as the saying is, 'of the greatest distinction.' To these, who

often came to my house, I have during the past months begun to interpret Aristotle's Rhetoric. I should have finished it if the pestilence had not intervened to stop all work.

So much for ourselves: I know nothing for certain to write to you about what is happening round us. Popular rumours are flying about regarding the Emperor, Charles V. It is said that he will come to Italy this year, with great forces and warlike preparations both by land and sea. I think that most of this is not likely. It is certain, however, that the Pope (Clement VII.) has been dangerously ill, but at the present time they say he is better. There are some who prophesy, as a divine revelation, that he will die this year. If this should happen, would that, since in former years a Pope (Alexander VI.) was chosen from Spain, so now they would take one from Britain.

Farewell, and love me, as you surely do. Salute all friends, especially Tunstall, Latimer and Starkey. I will reply to their kind letters, which reached me with yours, by another messenger. I will faithfully give Bembo, when he comes back from Venice, what you send.

From PADUA,
15th March, 1529.

Probably in 1530, and about May of that year, Leonicus addressed a long letter to Bishop Tunstall, who had just been translated from London to Durham. He proposes to dedicate to him his Latin translation of the *Varia Historia*,[1] which he had begun in his youth and revised frequently. He thinks that his present Latin presentation of the text will certainly be useful as a commentary, and especially to those who are ignorant of Greek. These studies are short, he says, and can easily be read. 'I have dedicated the volume to you, most learned Tunstall, who have always been most friendly to me. This will renew the testimony of my reverence for you, which you have known now for many years. It may serve also to awake the memory of your old affection for me. Farewell.'

He continues:

The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London [2]

[1] This edition was published in August 1531, with the dedication to Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, dated from Padua, 2nd January, 1531.

[2] This was John Stokesley, who succeeded Bishop Tunstall in the See of London, 1530. Stokesley was sent to Italy in 1530 to further the divorce question, and in the spring and summer was at Bologna, Padua, and Venice.

has informed me in his letter that your horse which had carried you to Rome, was to be handed over to me, and he begged me to write to you to ask that this be done. But I do not know anyone in Rome whom I could beg to carry this out. I consequently ask your Lordship to tell one of your servants or trusty friends to do this and to send on the horse hither by one who will take special care of it. Perchance you might direct that most amiable person, Richard Croke, now at Venice, to be responsible for all the expenses of the journey. Whatever is to be done should be done quickly. Indeed at the present time I greatly need a horse, and especially the animal which the Bishop Elect of London has spoken of and commended. *Vale*, most amiable friend, and remember me.

PADUA,
25*th May*, 1530

XVI. THE LAST LETTER TO POLE

On 8th February, 1531, Leonicus writes to Pole the last letter that is included in this collection.

N. LEONICUS TO REGINALD POLE, SALUTATION

If I knew where on this earth you were and where I might write to, or to whom I might safely give my letters, I would have written many times. In truth, where you are is absolutely unknown to me. Whether you are still in France, whence many months ago I received letters from you, or whether you have returned to England, I know not. I have consequently been obliged to desist from writing altogether, as there seemed small chance of my letters reaching you, and in this way, as they say, I should 'lose my work and my oil.'

As a matter of fact, Reginald Pole had left England in October, 1529, with Thomas Lupset, the faithful Starkey and others for Paris. He desired to keep aloof from the

thorny question of the divorce, and he hoped to find peace in Paris. But, against his will, he found himself drawn into the subject, and was employed by Henry to obtain the opinions of the French Universities on the question. In the following year he was recalled by the English King and once more lodged at Sheen. By the death of Cardinal Wolsey in November 1530, the Archbishopric of York fell vacant and the See of Winchester was already at the disposal of the King, who pressed Pole to accept one or other of the Sees. In spite of the urgent demands of his relations and friends that he should accept one or other of these posts to please the King, he refused both offers, and, after a stormy interview with Henry, he again left England in the spring of 1531 and, passing through Paris, remained for a time at Avignon, where, as it was a papal city, he would feel more secure from attempts to make him return to England. From Avignon he went on to Italy and spent his time between Padua and Venice. Before this time, however, his friend and professor Leonicus had passed away (in 1531).

To return to the ending of the last letter written by Leonicus to Pole at the beginning of 1531:

As Richard Croke, who has been in Venice for some months, thinks of returning home, and as he knows you well and has a special affection and reverence for you, and moreover, since I am always in friendly relations with all Englishmen and am especially drawn to one who knows Greek and Latin well, I was satisfied to entrust a letter to such a friend, especially since he has promised to find out your whereabouts for me. For this reason I have written, and whilst writing, with your leave, I cannot refrain from complaining that you have so long kept silent. When you were in Paris for many months—not to say years, from which place messengers brought letters to Venice in less than twenty days—you never sent a single word to me. But it matters little to me, though it is wrong not to write when you could to your old master, who deserved better treatment at your hands; but to treat in this same way your friend Harnell, who places such value on your affection, and who looks for letters from absent friends, is to be false to friendship. He, indeed, in my company and in his letters has often com-

plained of this neglect on your part, saying that he could have understood it of anyone else, but not of you. You great men, however, when you become possessed of riches and dignities, are wont to be like this: you don't think much of us small men of a lower station in life.

But, my dear Pole, I am only joking; and I hope you will take my words in that spirit. You indeed were ever of upright conduct, and if anyone ever was, you were endowed with rare amiability and wonderful liberality. Your high nobility has been rendered more glorious by your wonderful ability: the nobility of your birth has been adorned by a great knowledge of letters, and has thereby been rendered specially illustrious. If after this you are wise, govern yourself, and remove this blot either of nature or custom by often writing not only to friends, in reply to their communications, but often by provoking them to take a share in this contention of letters.

But enough of this.

Now as to what news we have here. . . . Nothing whatever has been agreed upon among Christian princes. They so dispute amongst themselves, and so hate each other, that it is to be feared that this year some great catastrophe will befall the world. The

Turkish Sultan has an excellent opportunity through these contentions and discord among Christians. I fear that they will move him to action, and that, as the disastrous floods and numerous portents foretell, some great calamity will fall upon the Christian name. It is said, and even considered certain, that he has already got ready great forces both on land and sea, as well as a great supply of guns and machines at Ancona. This is a sea town in Illyrica, from which there is a very short sea passage to Italy. He can transfer these forces whenever he wants without difficulty. We, however, both as to army and navy, are wholly unprepared. Therefore, Apulia and all that part of Italy are in great terror, and not without reason. It is said that all that district is being strengthened with men and munitions by Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, the Pope's Legate to the Emperor. So much for that. Here at Padua we are quiet and, as far as present dangers go, we look at them as in a looking-glass and rest secure. The city is furnished with divers scholastic faculties: I don't remember any time when there were so many. The study of humanities and of letters are held in the highest honour. A certain Lazarus, named Bonamici, from the city of Bassiano, a man

learned in Greek and Latin, with a salary of three hundred golden pieces, which no one has ever had up to this time, professes these subjects. He has a great number of auditors, amongst whom are six bishops, eight abbots, and many nobles from France and Germany, who devote themselves to these studies, and especially to Greek. Still, whilst all other studies are so flourishing here, that of philosophy proper alone is rather frozen up, in fact it wholly languishes. This is from the want of good professors, and because, as you know, it is read in such a barbarous fashion. The time is frittered away over foolish questions, and whole days are passed in discussing them. The law schools are carried on well. As for myself—not to be silent about myself at the end of this letter—I live in my accustomed manner. I am an old man, who bears the troubles of old age well. I read and write what pleases my mind rather than what fatigues or distresses it. Last year I composed a tract, *De Animorum essentia*, in which I have collected many things. This work I inscribed to you, but I do not know whether it has reached you. I gave four copies of the print to Harnell, who promised to forward them to you. Now I am printing certain points on Philology, which so far have been

obscure. All our friends are well and send their salutations. Bembo, thy friend as well as mine, has been placed over the Library[1] at Venice by the Senate, in order to direct the handsome building with its adjacent portico in the Square of St. Mark. He has also been asked to write the history of Venice from the death of Sabatici forty years ago, and illustrate it. Navagerius had begun this, but death prevented his making much progress with it. This is what I have to write to you at present, when I am almost without any reason for writing. May you do all that is great, and love your Leonicus and keep him in your mind. Say a word of salutation for me to those illustrious and most revered men, Tunstall, More and Latimer.

PADUA,
7th February, 1531.

[1] This appears to refer to Sansovino's Library (now the Libreria Vecchia), which was then in course of construction.

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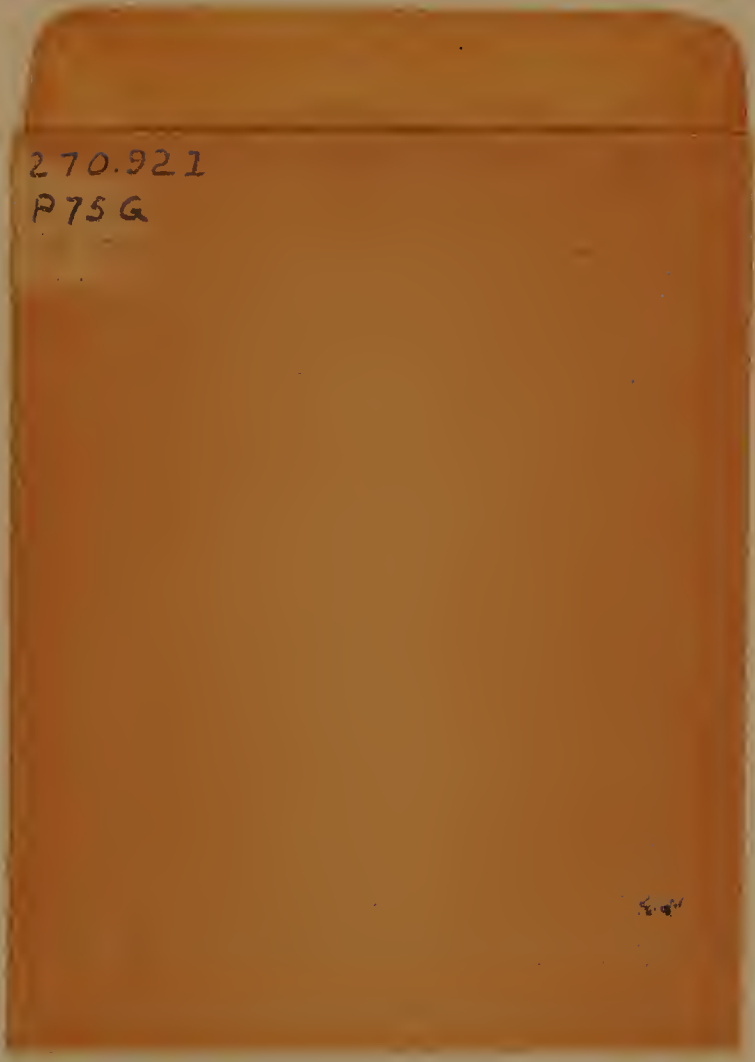

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